

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 12511

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP PEPR ENRG MARR MPOL US GW
SUBJECT: SENATOR BYRD'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
GENSCHER, JULY 5

SUMMARY. FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVED SENATOR BYRD, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AND PURVIS FOR ONE HOUR AFTERNOON OF JULY 5. GENSCHER WAS ACCOMPANIED BY POLITICAL DIRECTOR BLECH AND INTERPRETER. SENATOR STRESSED U.S. SUPPORT FOR NATO AND EUROPEAN SECURITY; PRESENTED HIS VIEWS ON SALT, LIFTING TURKISH EMBARGO, ENERGY, ERW, AND IMPORTANCE OF AGREEMENT IN MULTI-LATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS TO PREVENT SPIRAL OF PROTECTIONISM. GENSCHER EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH POINTS MADE BY SENATOR, EMPHASIZING IN PARTICULAR NEED FOR U.S. TO LIFT TURKISH EMBARGO. HE ALSO NOTED NECESSITY OF MOVING AHEAD IN MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS AND NEED FOR WEST TO BECOME CREDIBLE ADVOCATE OF AFRICAN INDE-
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PENDENCE. ATMOSPHERE OF MEETING WAS EXTREMELY CORDIAL AND WAS MARKED BY UNITY OF VIEWS ON ISSUES DISCUSSED.
END SUMMARY.

1. SENATOR BYRD EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD COME TO GERMANY IN TWO CAPACITIES, ONE AS PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL EMISSARY AND OTHER AS MAJORITY LEADER OF SENATE. AS PRESIDENTIAL

EMISSARY, HE WISHED TO EXPRESS STRONG SUPPORT OF U.S. FOR NATO AND, IN PARTICULAR, FOR LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM. TIME IS NOW UPON US TO IMPLEMENT LTDP; HE STRESSED U.S. SUPPORT OF PLAN AND EXPECTATION THAT OTHER ALLIES WOULD ALSO SUPPORT IT.

2. SENATOR NOTED THAT CONGRESS VIEWS SOVIET/WARSAW PACT BUILD-UP WITH GREAT CONCERN, WHICH IS REFLECTED IN INCREASED DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS. HE STATED THERE IS NO LONGER STRONG SUPPORT IN CONGRESS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES FROM EUROPE AND EUROPEAN ALLIES SHOULD HAVE NO FEARS ON THIS SCORE. U.S. UNDERSTANDS THAT WESTERN EUROPE'S SECURITY INTERESTS ARE ALSO SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE U.S.

3. SENATOR NEXT DISCUSSED SALT II AGREEMENT, SAYING SUCH AGREEMENT MUST NOT BE JUST IN INTERESTS OF U.S. AND SOVIET UNION BUT ALSO IN INTERESTS OF ALL OUR ALLIES. SENATOR BYRD SAID HE HAD NOT LIKED SALT I AND HE PROMISED THAT SENATE WOULD TAKE VERY CLOSE LOOK AT FINE PRINT IN SALT II. ONCE AGAIN HE STRESSED THAT SENATE IS VERY MINDFUL OF EUROPEAN SECURITY INTERESTS.

4. SENATOR NEXT DESCRIBED SITUATION REGARDING CON-

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SIDERATION IN CONGRESS OF PRESIDENT'S ENERGY PACKAGE.
THE U.S. HAS BEEN WASTEFUL IN USING ENERGY AND CONGRESS
KNOWS THAT ACTION MUST BE TAKEN. THE IMPRESSION HAS
BEEN FOSTERED BY INACCURATE REPORTING IN THE MEDIA
THAT CONGRESS IS BLOCKING THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM, BUT
THIS IS NOT TRUE. ALTHOUGH THIS IS A MOST CONTROVERSIAL
ISSUE, CONGRESS HAS IMPROVED ON PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL
AND WILL DELIVER A BILL TO THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE
END OF THE YEAR. THE SENATOR HAD SOME HOPE THAT THIS
BILL WOULD INCLUDE A CRUDE OIL TAX.

5. CONCERNING TURKISH EMBARGO, SENATOR NOTED THAT
PRESIDENT STRONGLY SUPPORTS LIFTING THE EMBARGO. THE
SENATOR PERSONALLY FELT THAT THIS WOULD BE IN THE
BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE ALLIANCE
AND THAT SENTIMENT IN THE CONGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION HAS
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IMPROVED. THE SITUATION IN THE SENATE IS FAIRLY
FAVORABLE AND THE REAL PROBLEM REMAINS IN THE HOUSE,
WHERE THE LEADERSHIP OPPOSES LIFTING THE EMBARGO.
THE PRESIDENT IS WORKING HARD TO GET VOTES IN THE HOUSE
AND THE SENATOR SAID HE WOULD CONVEY TO HIS OWN
COLLEAGUES IN THE CONGRESS HOW THE EUROPEANS FELT ON
THIS ISSUE. AT THE MOMENT, HE FELT THE CHANCES FOR
LIFTING THE EMBARGO WERE SOMEWHAT BETTER THAN 50-50.

6. RESPONDING, GENSCHER WELCOMED SENATOR'S REMARKS
CONCERNING NATO, THE LTDP AND ASSURANCES ABOUT NOT
WITHDRAWING FORCES FROM EUROPE. HE WAS GLAD TO KNOW
THAT THE U.S. WAS INTERESTED IN EUROPEAN VIEWS ON SALT II
AND ON THE SO-CALLED GRAY AREAS. GENSCHER SAID WE ARE
IN CLOSE CONTACT CONCERNING THE ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS
AND THE FRG HAS FULL CONFIDENCE THAT ITS INTERESTS ARE
BEING PROTECTED BY THE U.S.

7. GENSCHER CONTINUED THAT HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT
DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE OF NATO WHICH COULD AFFECT THE
ALLIANCE ADVERSELY. AFTER LOSING SOME GROUND IN THE

MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA, SOVIET INFLUENCE IS GROWING AGAIN IN THOSE AREAS. GENSCHER WAS PLEASED THAT THE ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD BE MEETING IN LONDON WITH SECRETARY VANCE AND HE WAS GLAD THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD VISITED ISRAEL. GENSCHER REFERRED TO HIS OWN TRIP TO ISRAEL SHORTLY BEFORE AND SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD THE ISRAELIS THAT THE MONDALE VISIT SHOULD BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. GENSCHER NOTED THAT SADAT, HUSSAIN, AND THE LEADERS OF SAUDI ARABIA ARE SENSIBLE AND REASONABLE MEN. ALSO, ONE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE PRESIDENT OF SYRIA -- GIVEN ALL HIS DIFFICULTIES -- IS ALSO REASONABLE. THE FRG FEELS THAT
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EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO UTILIZE THE INFLUENCE OF THESE MODERATE LEADERS IN WORKING FOR A SETTLEMENT.

8. GENSCHER SAID THAT AFRICA IS A CAUSE FOR COMMON CONCERN. IT IS IMPORTANT TO FIND SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA -- FIRST IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND ULTIMATELY IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE SOVIETS HAVE GAINED INFLUENCE BY SUPPORTING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. WHILE THERE IS AN AWARENESS IN AFRICA THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE IMPERIALISTIC AIMS, MANY AFRICANS FEAR TO SAY THIS PUBLICLY BECAUSE THEY DO NOT KNOW THE FUTURE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS. HOWEVER, THEY EXPRESSED THEIR FEARS PRIVATELY. GENSCHER THOUGHT IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT THE WEST TAKE THE ROLE OF ADVOCATE OF AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE IN A CREDIBLE WAY.

9. CONCERNING TURKEY, GENSCHER NOTED THE TRADITIONALLY GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND TURKEY, ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT FRG SUPPORT OF GREEK MEMBERSHIP IN THE EEC COULD CAUSE SOME PROBLEMS WITH TURKEY. HE SAID THE FRG HAS DONE ITS BEST TO AID TURKEY, BUT, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, GERMANY'S SHOULDERS ARE TOO SMALL AND TURKEY MUST LOOK TO THE U.S. HE THOUGHT LIFTING THE EMBARGO WOULD BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. GENSCHER NOTED THAT THE ARMY PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN TURKEY AND WE CANNOT AFFORD FOR THE ARMY TO TAKE AN ANTI-U.S. OR ANTI-WESTERN POSITION.

10. GENSCHER SAID ENERGY WAS A SUBJECT WHICH WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT GREAT LENGTH AT THE SUMMIT AND HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY WHAT THE SENATOR HAD REPORTED. IF THE PRESIDENT COULD ANNOUNCE A DECISION AT THE SUMMIT CONCERNING THE U.S. ENERGY PROGRAM, IT COULD HELP MAKE THE SUMMIT A JOINT SUCCESS.

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11. ON THE ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPON (AND HERE HE EMPHASIZED HE SPOKE PERSONALLY AND NOT FOR THE PRESIDENT), SENATOR BYRD SAID HE HAD FAVORED PRODUCTION OF THE ERW. GENSCHER INTERJECTED THAT HE HAD TAKEN THE SAME VIEW. THE SENATOR SAID HE HAD BEEN SATISFIED WITH THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO DELAY IN ORDER TO SEE IF THE SOVIETS WOULD MAKE CONCESSIONS. MEANWHILE, THE U.S. WILL PROCEED WITH MODERNIZATION. IF THE SOVIETS DO NOT MAKE CONCESSIONS, THEN WE SHOULD GO AHEAD. THE SENATOR ALSO NOTED THAT THE U.S. WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE EUROPEANS SPEAK OUT MORE CLEARLY IN SUPPORT OF THE ERW.

12. GENSCHER SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE ERW IS IM-

PORTANT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE. HE COULD AGREE
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WITH THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION, SINCE IT OPENS UP THE POSSIBILITY OF USING THE ERW AS A BARGAINING CHIP IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. GENSCHER STATED THAT HE HAD TAKEN A POSITIVE POSITION WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY ABOUT THE ERW AS WELL AS IN PUBLIC AND HE HAD TRIED TO DISPEL RESISTANCE AMONG SOME OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES. A MASTERLY CAMPAIGN HAD BEEN CONDUCTED AGAINST THE ERW IN EUROPE AND THE WAY IN WHICH THE ERW HAD BEEN PRESENTED TO THE PUBLIC ORIGINALLY HAD MADE IT VULNERABLE TO ATTACK. NOW, GENSCHER THOUGHT THE SITUATION WAS LESS EMOTIONAL. MODERNIZATION SHOULD GO AHEAD SO THAT NO TIME WILL BE LOST. THE SENATOR AGREED, NOTING THAT THE SOVIETS' STATEMENT THAT THEY WOULD NOT BUILD AN ERW WAS NOT SIGNIFICANT. IT IS A DEFENSIVE WEAPON AND THE SOVIETS DON'T NEED IT. HOWEVER, IF THERE WERE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS ON THEIR PART RELATING TO THE SS-20 OR TO WITHDRAWAL OF TANKS, THEN WE COULD CONSIDER NOT BUILDING THE ERW.

13. GENSCHER PICKED UP THE REFERENCE TO THE SS-20, SAYING THIS IS AN IMPORTANT MATTER FOR THE FRG. RANGE IS NOT REALLY A DETERMINATION OF WHETHER A WEAPON IS STRATEGIC OR NOT. FOR THE FRG, THE SS-20 IS STRATEGIC, ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT NOT BE FOR THE U.S. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT THE SS-20 ALSO COULD BE CONVERTED INTO THE SS-16, WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A "TRANSATLANTIC OPTION".

14. SENATOR BYRD RAISED THE QUESTION OF CRUISE MISSILES, SAYING THAT THE SENATE WILL BE VERY WATCHFUL REGARDING PROVISIONS IN SALT II ON CRUISE MISSILES. WE WANT THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE TO BE FULLY PROTECTED.

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15. WITH REGARD TO MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, SENATOR BYRD DESCRIBED PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES IN HIS OWN STATE AND THE STRONG PROTECTIONIST ATTITUDES IN THE CONGRESS. HE FEARED THAT, IF THE PRESIDENT DID NOT GET A COMMITMENT ON A MULTILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENT AT THE SUMMIT, PROTECTIONIST SENTIMENT WILL SPIRAL IN THE U.S., ESPECIALLY IN THE NEXT CONGRESS. GENSCHER ASKED IF THE SENATOR HAD MENTIONED THIS IN LONDON, AND

THE SENATOR SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED IT WITH PRIME
MINISTER CALLAGHAN.

16. GENSCHER SAID HE WAS SURE THE SENATOR UNDERSTOOD
THE FRG POSITION ON THE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS FROM
MR. STRAUSS. HOWEVER, THE FRG DOES NOT NEGOTIATE
ALONE BUT AS PART OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. THE FRG
IS WELL AWARE OF THE TRENDS TOWARD PROTECTIONISM. HE
SAID HE WAS PLEASED THAT THE SENATOR HAD MENTIONED THE
PROBLEM IN LONDON.

17. WITH REGARD TO THE DOLLAR, SENATOR BYRD SAID THAT
ENERGY IS A PRIMARY FACTOR IN WORKING FOR IMPROVE-
MENT. THE PRESIDENT IS ALSO PUSHING AHEAD WITH ANTI-
INFLATION EFFORTS. THE CONGRESS IS ALSO HELPING IN THIS
REGARD, REFLECTING THE NATIONAL MOOD OF FISCAL RESTRAINT.
THE SENATOR THOUGHT WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS BUT WE ALSO
NEED HELP FROM OUR MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS -- SUCH AS
GERMANY -- IN STIMULATING THEIR ECONOMIC GROWTH.

18. THE SENATOR BRIEFLY DISCUSSED HIS VISIT TO SPAIN.
HE HAD NOT PRESSED FOR NATO MEMBERSHIP, ALTHOUGH HE
HOPED SPAIN WOULD MAKE A DECISION TO JOIN THE ALLIANCE.
HE HAD CONVEYED THE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE U.S. FOR
SPAIN'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY. GENSCHER COMMENTED
THAT SPAIN IS A MODEL FOR TEXTBOOKS FOR SUCH A TRANSI-
TION. DE FACTO, THEY ARE ALREADY IN THE ALLIANCE.
THEY SHOULD ALSO BE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. HE
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FELT THAT GISCARD HAD TAKEN AN IMPORTANT STEP IN
SUPPORTING SPAIN'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY.

19. THE SENATOR SAID HE HAD ONE ADDITIONAL ISSUE TO
RAISE WHICH HAD BEEN MENTIONED TO HIM BY NATO SECRETARY
GENERAL LUNS. THIS WAS THE TENDENCY OF THE FRENCH IN
THE NAC TO NARROW THE FOCUS OF DISCUSSIONS AND CONSULTA-
TIONS TO THE POINT OF VIRTUALLY EXERCISING A VETO. THIS
MAY BE PARTLY A MATTER OF PERSONALITY OF THE FRENCH
REPRESENTATIVE, BUT THE SITUATION IS DISTURBING AND
WE HOPE THE FRG MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP IN THIS MATTER.
POLITICAL DIRECTOR BLECH COMMENTED THAT THE FRG IS ALSO
CONCERNED ABOUT THIS TENDENCY. IT IS TRUE THAT THERE
MAY BE A PERSONALITY ELEMENT INVOLVED AND THE FRG IS
WAITING TO SEE IF THE SITUATION BECOMES "DRAMATIC".
NEVERTHELESS, THE FRG IS AWARE OF THE PROBLEM AND IN-
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TENDS TO MENTION IT IN THE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH
FRANCE.

20. GENSCHER NEXT SPOKE OF BERLIN AND EXPRESSED GRATI-
TUDE FOR THE AMERICAN POSITION THERE. HE FELT THE
VISIT TO BERLIN BY THE PRESIDENT WAS AN ESSENTIAL
ELEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S FORTHCOMING TRIP TO THE FRG
AND THAT THIS VISIT TOOK ON SPECIAL POLITICAL IMPORTANCE
IN VIEW OF RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE SOVIET
AMBASSADOR IN EAST BERLIN -- CONFIRMED BY HONECKER --
THAT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT APPLIES ONLY TO WEST
BERLIN. GENSCHER SPOKE WITH SOME EMOTION OF HIS OWN
ORIGINS IN EAST GERMANY AND OF THE CONTINUED AWARENESS
OF PEOPLE IN EAST GERMANY OF THE CLOSE TIES BETWEEN THE
U.S. AND BERLIN. HE SAID THIS REPRESENTS A HUMAN
ELEMENT WHICH HAS GREAT IMPORTANCE. SENATOR BYRD SAID
THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT OUR LASTING COMMITMENT TO

BERLIN.

21. IN CLOSING, SENATOR BYRD SAID HE HAD BEEN VERY ENCOURAGED BY HIS DISCUSSION WITH THE MINISTER AND THAT HE WOULD CONVEY TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE MINISTER ON THE VARIOUS SUBJECTS WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN UP. GENSCHER STRESSED HIS OWN INTEREST IN MAINTAINING CLOSE, PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH U.S. LEADERS, PARTICULARLY WITH MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS, AND SAID HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO ACCEPT THE SENATOR'S INVITATION TO TALK WITH CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS THE NEXT TIME HE IS IN WASHINGTON. STOESEL

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